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Table 1. Population Estimates of the 12 Ethiopian Provinces

Administrative Province	Area in Square Kilometers	Official estimate of population 1954	Ethnic Preponderance (author's comments) Language	Religion	Additional Remarks
Begemder	78,200	1,800,000	Amharic	Coptic	some border Muslim and highland Falashas.
Gojjam	62,900	1,600,000	Amharic	Coptic	some Agau (old Cushitic)speakers
Shoa	78,700	2,100,000	Amharic	Coptic	some Gurage-speakers
Tigre	67,000	1,000,000	Galla, Tigrina.	Coptic	
Wollo	78,700	1,000,000	mostly Galla	Coptic	some Amharic
Wollega	67,200	1,000,000	Galla,Amharic	Coptic	some border Shan-qalla(negroid, Ni-lotic-speaking)
Arussi	36,000	1,000,000	Galla	Muslim-"pagan"	
Hararge	404,000	1,600,000	Galla, some Somali	Muslim-"pagan"	some Somali semi-nomad tribes
Ilubabor	50,000	1,300,000	Galla, Nilotic old-Cushitic	"pagan"	many border Shan-qalla & other negroids
Kaffa	49,000	1,200,000	Galla,Nilotic old-Cushitic	"pagan"-Muslim	many border negroid
Gemu-Gofa	39,000	900,000	Sudanese,Galla	"pagan"	border negroids
Sidamo	102,000	1,250,000	old-Cushitic (Sidamo,Wollamo)	"pagan"	some nomadic border tribes
	1,110,000	15,750,000			
(Eritrea, federated 1952)	119,000	1,100,000	Bedja(Cushitic) Tigre(Semitic) Nilotic	Muslim Coptic	

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5
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On the basis of these figures and interpretations, little over half the population of Ethiopia proper (not including Eritrea) is Coptic and can be regarded as "Abyssinians proper". Also, of the total population of Ethiopia, about 5 million, or 1/3, are native Amharic speakers, and constitute, especially in matters of governmental administration, a sort of upper class. However, there are several qualifications that should be added to these overall conclusions.

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Until the reign of the present emperor, and during much of it, the predominant and typical division of the population was into ethnic groups, and the resulting social hierarchy was largely based on what a particular group had experienced in the wars of Menelik II: whether they were among the victors, or among the vanquished. The upper class status of Amhara, was shared by landlords, chiefs, or poor tenants, once they reached conquered territories, and was rivalled only by the other Coptic Abyssinians from Tigriña-speaking Tigrē. In general, the Coptic religion itself constituted upper class membership in the hierarchy, and non-Coptic speakers of sister-languages of Amharic, such as the Guragē, did not share in this status and during that generation remained haulers of water and hewers of wood. The Galla were the largest of the subjected peoples. It mattered little to the Amhara whether the Galla were "pagan" or thinly islamized. The Coptic Priesthood did not try to "raise them to Christianity" (in the Amharic phrase).

Each of these ethnic entities had its own hierarchy

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

his early twenties, he found his way back to Ankober and assumed his rights as king of Shoa.

Menelik, who was a restless and imaginative character as well as a great soldier, soon began the series of vast conquests in the southern Galla lands which were to double the size of Ethiopia. It is therefore not surprising that he should have abandoned Ankober in favour of a capital within easier reach of his newly acquired territories. He first reverted to Debra Berhan, then made a new temporary capital at Liché, a few miles to the north-east. Here, at one end of a long, low hill are various remains of massive dry-stone walls as at Angolala, and the raised platform, only about 20 feet across, on which stood Menelik's personal dwelling. But the site is now uninhabited. In the 1880's Menelik, his southern conquests rapidly extending, moved his capital south-westwards to Entotto, in the midst of country newly retrieved from the Gallas. This was a magnificent site, 10,000 feet high and overlooking the plain and the splendid circle of mountains which form the setting of the present capital. Entotto was, however, unsuitable as the site of a permanent city. It is said, also, that Menelik's wife Taitu craved for a warmer residence and especially for the curative waters of the hot springs (the present Fil Wuha baths) on the edge of the plain below. So in 1889, the year in which he was crowned emperor in succession to John IV, Menelik moved down, and Addis Ababa was founded at the foot of the hills, 1500 feet below.

This digression completes our brief review of the historical associations of the area represented on the map. The remainder of this paper will deal with the present inhabitants, their distribution and their way of life.

It has already been said that the population of the area is greater than at first sight appears. The small, stone-built huts are inconspicuous objects, especially as they are seldom massed together to form a village but are widely scattered in small groups. Moreover the motor-road follows for the most part an exposed tract which carries less than the normal population. Travellers driving through therefore carry away a false impression: they can see little of the more populated areas, nothing of the gorges, and not a single one of the numerous churches of the region, except those of Debra Berhan itself.

I attempted to mark every inhabited place on the map. In very many cases the single dot indicates several households, and may be taken to represent, on an average, two households of five to six persons each or eleven souls. On this basis the population of the whole area of 102 square miles comes to about 15,500 or 152 per square mile—a high average by African standards. (This excludes Debra Berhan itself which would add a further 2000 or so.) The population is not, however, evenly distributed, and the area may be divided into three parts which, with their areas and population densities (again ignoring Debra Berhan) are as follows:

General plateau: 60 square miles—116 per square mile.

Plateau between or within 1 km. of gorges: 22 square miles—240 per square mile.

The gorges themselves: 20 square miles—162 per square mile. (This indicates a very high concentration on the "shelves" and a few other favoured spots, for a great part of the gorge area is, of course, uninhabitable.)

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

These figures show that the gorges, together with the adjoining and intervening plateau, carry a considerably higher population than the rest of the plateau, the combined average being over 200 per square mile. The figures for population per church are also interesting. The gorges and the adjacent parts of the plateau contain no fewer than thirteen churches and they serve an average population of only some 650 souls each. On the other hand the churches of the general plateau, not counting those of Debra Berhan, which chiefly serve the townspeople, number only four. They must cater for about three times as many people each, and until recently many more for two of them are recent foundations.

The higher population of the gorge region is attributable to two causes: the greater productivity of the land there, and the historical fact, already referred to, that the Amharas were long forced to live in the gorges, and have re-emerged only in recent times. This is confirmed by the evidence of the churches which, in such numbers, are sure evidence of a long-established Christian population. The oldest ones are among those in the depths of the gorges; sites on the edges of gorges seem to be more recent. The few plateau churches are all relatively modern and bespeak the re-occupation by Amharas; two of them were indeed founded within the last fifteen years, and one as recently as 1945.

As can be seen from the map, sites chosen for dwellings are usually on the higher ground. The favourite sites, of which many examples can be seen on the sheet, are rocky ridges and the tops or upper slopes of hills and minor plateaus. A high place with an outlook, together with reasonable proximity to permanent water, seem to be the conditions sought after. Even the most elevated and exposed hill-tops are generally inhabited, whereas nobody tries to live on the plains near the main streams, which become very swampy in the rains. The ordinary family, together with its domestic animals, lives in a small, irregular cluster of round huts, which in this area are built of stone cemented with mud and carry a conical thatched roof. They are surrounded, as a rule, by a dry-stone wall, which may be shared by several households. Richer people may have an ornamental gatehouse at the main entry, with a little watchman's room over the gate; but such ostentation was not common.

Disregarding some of the Debra Berhan people, almost the entire population is engaged in farming which, here as elsewhere in Ethiopia, is the mainstay of existence. Some possess their own land; others hold their plots, in return for a proportion of the produce (but without any security of tenure), from absentee landowners. There is also a landless element, greatly increased through the disturbing influence of the Italian occupation, who hire themselves out as ploughmen and labourers. I had intended to measure some typical holdings in order to estimate the area actually required to support a family, but my time in the area was cut short and I never did so. As a very rough estimate I think that about 15–20 per cent. of the area is under cultivation in any one year, which would indicate an average per family of something like 4 acres. This does not include fallow land which, once re-grown with grass, cannot be distinguished at a glance from permanent pasture.

The most exposed parts of the plateau near Debra Berhan will grow two crops only, barley and broad beans, but a limited amount of wheat (a bearded

7: Perham S-4 (no date)1948
MP5 Amhara MP5

THE GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA

175 563 In the nineteenth century, as will be recounted in some detail in the chapter on the southern provinces, the Ethiopians, and especially the Shoans, struck back and overran an immense area inhabited by Gallas, Somalis, non-Semiticized Hamites, and negroes in the south.

THE POPULATION

● 162 No census has ever been taken in Ethiopia and we cannot, therefore, know either the total of population within her boundaries or how to allocate the numbers to the several races, religions, and regions. All estimates are therefore nothing better than more or less informed guesses. To show the divergences in these guesses, a well-informed British consul writing in 1932 gave 5,500,000 as his figure,[1] whereas, since the liberation, a semi-official Ethiopian journal claims 12,000,000 to 13,000,000. A recent official statement by the ecclesiastical authorities claims 10,000,000 Ethiopian Christians.[2]

Special attention must be paid to the estimates of the Italians. As neighbours, adversaries and, for a short time, rulers of Ethiopia, they have had more reason and opportunity than other people to attempt such calculations.

The following estimates, obviously in very round numbers, are the official Italian figures. They cover the whole of Italian East Africa and it will therefore be necessary to consult Map 2 at the end of the book in order to see the relationship of this area with Ethiopia proper.

Province.	Population
Shoa	500,000
Eritrea	1,000,000
Amhara	1,000,000
Harar	1,600,000
Galla-Sidamo	1,600,000
Somalia	1,300,000
	7,000,000[3]

The following figures for the same area, published in the *Guida* of 1938, give the racial distribution.

[1] Makereth, p. 5. [2] *Herald*, 1 July 1946.
[3] *Annuario dell' Africa Orientale Italiana*, Rome, 1938–9, p. 597.

7: Perham S-4 (no date)1948

MP5 Amhara MP5

THE PROVINCES: GENERAL

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	Population
Abyssinians (including Agau and Beja)	2,400,000
Gallas	2,350,000
Somalis	1,400,000
Sidamo groups	1,400,000
Afar-Saho (of Danakil districts)	150,000
Negroes	1,000,000
Asiatics and Europeans	100,000[1]
	7,600,000

From both these sets of figures the relatively accurate figures for Eritrea of 757,000,[2] and for Italian Somaliland of 1,000,000,[3] may be deducted, leaving a total for Ethiopia proper of 5,243,000 according to the *Annuario* and 5,843,000 according to the *Guida*.

The British Military Administration in Ethiopia gave the number of 7,000,000 for the total population but did not say upon what calculations this figure was based.[4]

Zoli gives the following classifications for language and race for Ethiopia alone.

[563]

Language		Race	
Amhara	1,900,000	Abyssinian	2,100,000
Tigré	400,000	Galla	2,350,000
Oromo (Galla)	2,000,000	Somali	450,000
Somali	450,000	Sidamo	200,000
Sidamo	200,000	Afar	50,000
Afar (Danakil)	50,000	Negro	850,000
Miscellaneous	1,000,000		
	6,000,000		6,000,000[5]

One point of interest in comparing these latter is that they give an estimate—a highly speculative one—of the degree to which the Gallas have become assimilated to the Amharic culture as shown by their adoption of this language. We may note that Zoli estimates that forty different languages are spoken in Ethiopia, but most of these belong to very small groups in the south-west.

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[1] *Guida*, p. 400.
[2] Longrigg, *op. cit.*, Appendix C.
[3] This estimate was taken from *Whitaker*.
[4] Cmd. 6589/1945.
[5] Zoli, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.

7: Perham S-4 (no date)1948
MP5 Amhara MP5

162 to very small groups in the south-west. His figures for the religions of the country have already been given.[1]

A very rough regional distribution by another Italian writer is as follows:

The original Ethiopian provinces	2,500,000–2,800,000
Galla and Sidamo areas	1,500,000–2,000,000
Harar	1,000,000
Somaliland	300,000
Danakil region	50,000
The non-Amharic north-west	100,000
The south-west (negroid regions)	600,000

This gives us a total of between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000.[2] But Almagia, like other authorities, offers this estimate in very tentative terms.

Finally, we may give de Castro's estimate of racial percentages.

[563]

Ethiopians	32·6
Gallas	42·7
Sidamo and Arab-crossed people of the south-western highlands	10·1
Somalis	6·0
Negroid and Nilotic negroes	6·6
Danakil groups	2·0
	100·0[3]

Three main points arise from a study of these various estimates.

One is that the Italian figures for the total population are very much lower than those recently mentioned by Ethiopians. An application made by the writer for the official Ethiopian figure produced a negative reply. This demographic difficulty may be one, among others, which has held up the publication of a long-promised official handbook for Ethiopia.

A second interesting feature of the estimates is that the true Ethiopian stock is almost certainly in a minority and that it is most likely to strengthen its position further, at least as the first stage, by continuing the assimilation of the Gallas which has already begun.

Thirdly, the figures repeat the impression given by the Geographical Survey of the concentration of the population upon the highlands, and the numerical insignificance of the groups inhabiting the low-lying regions of the east and south-east.

[1] See above, p. 103. [2] Almagia, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–7.
[3] de Castro, *L'Etiopia*, p. 301.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

sea level. It is surrounded by three rings of high mountains, which afforded military protection in times past and today provide handsome scenery. Only toward the south is a direct land route alluring, as the ridge descends toward the fertile plains of Dambiyā and the waters of Ṭānā, largest lake in Ethiopia.

Because of its intermediate altitude, Gondar escapes the chill of higher regions and the intense sun of the lowlands: its climate is among the most pleasant in Ethiopia. Water is supplied by two streams—the Angarab and the Qīha—which enclose the town, then flow together down to Lake Ṭānā twenty-one miles away. Adequate rains throughout the year assure two, sometimes three, crops in the hinterland. Ṭēff and other grains, oilseed, honey, and livestock are produced in abundance.

TABLE 1

THE HOUSES OF GONDAR AND MANZ

Gondarine Emperors Who Ruled with Full Power		The Line of Independent Shoan Rulers		
Name	Dates of Reign	Name	Highest Rank Attained	Dates of Reign
Fāsil (Fāsiladas)	1632–67	Nagāssi (Nagāssē Kristos)	Abēto	169?–1703
Yohānnes I (the Pious)	1667–82	Sebstē (Sebstyānos)	Marīdāzmātch	1705–20
Iyāsu I (the Great)	1682–1706	Abbiyē	Marīdāzmātch	1720–45
Takla Hāymānot I	1706–8	Amhāyas (Amhā Iyasus)	Marīdāzmātch	1745–75
Tēwoflos	1708–11	Asfā Wassan	Marīdāzmātch	1775–1808
Yosṭos	1711–16	Wassan Sagad	Rās	1808–13
Dāwit III (the Singer)	1716–21	Sāhla Selassie	Negus	1813–47
Bakāffā (the Inexorable)	1721–30	Haile Malakot	Negus	1847–55
Iyāsu II (the Little)	1730–55	***		***
		Menelik II		
		As ruler of Shoa	Negus	1865–89
		As emperor of Ethiopia	Negusa Nagast	1889–1913

The population of Gondar approached seventy thousand during the city's time of power.[5] Thereafter it declined to but a few thousands. The townspeople of Gondar have been chiefly traders, priests, scribes, soldiers, artisans, and drink-house proprietresses. Like the inhabitants of Aksum, they are more conscious of Ethiopian history than people elsewhere in the country, as well they might be.

Gondar was founded by Emperor Fāsil about 1635. Legend says that he was inspired to plant his capital there because of a prophecy that Ethiopia would attain its greatest power if its capital were established in a place whose name began with the syllable *Go*. More practical considerations were surely

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

flushed with the reports of Menelik's conquests[47] and embellished by the wax and gold of Alaqā Gabra Hānnā, was a kind of traditional climax, a final expression of the integrity of traditional Amhara culture.

THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

Gondar Today

A renascence of Gondar began during the Italian occupation, when it was made the capital of Amhara, one of the five large provinces into which the Italians divided Ethiopia. They equipped Gondar with modern buildings and roads, restored parts of the old castles, and made it the transportation center of northwestern Ethiopia.

After the liberation, Gondar retained some administrative importance by becoming the capital of Bagemder, one of the twelve provinces of postwar Ethiopia. A further impetus toward development of the town came in 1953 with the selection of Gondar as site for Ethiopia's first public health college. The existence of this college, with its enthusiastic staff of WHO and AID personnel, has stimulated the improvement of transportation and public utilities as well as local medical services. The population has increased to twenty thousand.[48] The progress shown by the city inspired one Ethiopian journalist to write, in the *Addis Zaman* of April 19, 1960: "By virtue of its annually increasing growth, sanitation, and modern appearance, one is emboldened to say that the city of Gondar takes second place only to Addis Ababa."

With the turn of Ethiopia's interest from the old church curriculum to a modern educational program, the traditional importance of Gondar has necessarily declined. It remains the place to go for the study of *aquāquām* and for a "diploma" in textual studies, but the total number of students now pursuing these subjects is probably less than a hundred. Almost none of the young people of Gondar itself attend the higher church schools. Still in the vanguard of learning, Gondar's youth prefer the currently more advantageous government schools. The elementary schools of Gondar receive many more applicants than they can accommodate each year. Gondar's secondary school is, next to that of Harar, the oldest and largest in the provinces.

Nevertheless, the life of Gondar is still dominated by its clergy. Nine church schools in Gondar are supported by government funds. Unlike other cities in Ethiopia, Gondar is partly governed by a town council of clergymen. The city is divided into districts marked by the location of the churches, and the town council consists of the heads of these churches—some of whose positions are so important that they are assigned directly by the Emperor. This council is convened to handle disputes over land and other matters, and to communicate the mayor's proclamations to the people. An accusation signed for a plaintiff by a priest carries much weight in the local courts. The ecclesias-

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

643 571 right to a direct audience at any time. The Emperor is known to glow with pleasure when a subject with whom he is speaking reveals that he comes from Manz. The Manzēs, for their part, proudly refer to their area as *ya-negus agar* ("king's country"). They are perhaps the most devoted of all Ethiopians to the present Crown. However, many stories are told to show that this loyalty has not dissolved their intractable spirit. For example, when asked to select a representative for Ethiopia's first elected parliament in 1957, some of them were indignant: "Wę already have *our* representative in the capital, and if he isn't able to do the job himself, let him step down and hand it to somebody else."

871 658 Despite their expressed loyalty to Haile Selassie, the Manzēs stubbornly oppose the program with which he is publicly most associated and whose portfolio he has retained, as Minister of Education, from 1943 to the present day. The adults of Manz object to having their children attend the government schools. In many cases where a child has elected to attend school on his own, his parents have cut off all support. The four schools in Manz thus have [162] an enrolment far below capacity, totaling (as of 1960) less than four hundred in this area of perhaps fifty to sixty thousand families.[49] Those hardy youngsters who do attend school often do so in rags and with an empty stomach.

[857] One reason for this determined opposition to the government schools is the obvious economic one: children must stay at home to tend the herds. This is a problem all over rural Ethiopia, but still the schools in many other areas are overcrowded. Another reason is that, as we have seen, Manz was not interested in education in the old days. Few Manzēs learned to read in the church schools. When a boy showed unusual talent and interest in traditional studies he had to travel to Gondar, which often meant running away from Manz.

871 658 186 829 The crux of Manzē defiance of the new educational system, however, is cultural fundamentalism. The Manzēs keep their children away from the government schools because they fear that the students there are learning something that threatens the old ways. In particular, they do not like their children to learn the language of the *faranj* ("European") or to be exposed to Ethiopians who have been taught by *faranj* and thereby infected by alien ideas. Tending the farm, keeping the fasts, defending land and self—that is the sum and substance of Manzē education, beyond which there is nothing a boy needs to learn.

829 648 186 Undoubtedly part of this dread of *faranj* learning is based on the Manzēs' one experience with the white man: the Fascist occupation. As one of the strongholds of patriotic resistance to the occupation, Manz and the Manzēs became the object of the invader's unyielding fury. Over miles and miles of Manz not a home or church was spared. The inhabitants were either killed, or fled to safer areas in Galla country, or joined the underground opposition—

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5
Ethiopia MP1

TABLE 2 [P. 114]

E 563 873 795 A 873 795 ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF ETHIOPIAN SECONDARY AND COLLEGE STUDENTS

Ethnic Group	Percentage	Religious Group	Percentage
Amhara	55	"Orthodox"	67
Tigre	22	"Protestant"	6
Galla	15	"Catholic"	5
Gurage	4	"Christian"	15
Others*	4		
		Total Christian	93
		Muslim	4
		Others†	3

* Adari, Somali, Danakil, Wollamo, Kambata, Mensa, etc.

† Baha'i; agnostic; "no religion"; etc.

COMMENTS:

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1. The ethnic figures must be regarded with some caution, since as many as 17 per cent of the 700 respondents failed to answer the question. It is difficult to know whether this is due primarily to the reluctance of non-Amhara students so to identify themselves, even anonymously; to the general sensitivity about mentioning anything directly related to the "tribal question"; or simply to misunderstanding of the question. I suspect that the first-named factor may not be the most important. At any rate, if one compares the secondary school replies, in which 20 per cent failed to indicate their ethnic identification, with the college replies, in which only 10 per cent failed to do so, the greater percentage of response among the latter is accompanied by a slight *increase* (53.3 to 56.7 per cent) in the Amhara category.

   The figures on religious affiliation are more reliable, since only 3 per cent of the entire sample failed to answer that question.

2. Fifteen per cent of the students who indicated their ethnic affiliations are the offspring of mixed marriages, nearly two-thirds of which were between Amhara and Galla. These students were entered in the above classification according to the ethnic group of the father.

3. The students were also asked to indicate whether their own religion differed from that of their parents. *Ten per cent indicated such a change.* Of these, 28 per cent became agnostic or indicated "no religion"; 25 per cent converted to Protestantism; 17 per cent to Catholicism; 18 per cent went from "Orthodox" to "Christian" (which probably means to Protestantism in most cases); and 7 per cent changed to Baha'i.

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4. A comparison with the ethnic and religious composition of the country as a whole naturally suggests itself. Unfortunately, national figures have not yet been calculated to any comparable degree of reliability. If one refers to the crude estimates in common currency, certain disproportions are readily apparent.

   Thus, the Amhara proportion of the national population has been estimated at 25 to 30 per cent. It is clear that they are disproportionately represented in the school system; but not so greatly as has been at times alleged. In view of the statistics and considerations presented above, it would seem that 50 per cent is the upper limit of enrolment by "pure Amhara" in the post-elementary schools.

   The disproportions with regard to religious affiliation speak for themselves. The most recent published estimates are: Ethiopian Orthodox, 35 per cent; Muslim, 35 per cent; pagan, 25 per cent; other, 5 per cent. (Lipsky, *Ethiopia* [New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1962], p. 101.)

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

awareness of the political realities in the Ethiopian government. They had also begun to doubt the transcendent efficacy of the educational process itself after observing the behavior of those educated Ethiopians who went before them and inevitably became their ideals. The violation of various traditional and modern norms by the latter, and their evident demoralization, raised many questions in the minds of the students.

Finally, the students were made more anxious by a general constricting of opportunity. Increased numbers in the school system meant a steady intensification of the competition to gain and hold on to a place in secondary school and college, particularly since 1959. The rapid filling of jobs by the educated youth and steadily growing numbers of unemployed youth began to create anxieties about finding work in the future.

From the viewpoint of the modern adolescents, then, a very supportive and stimulating environment in the fifties has changed to a somewhat threatening and confused environment in the sixties. It is in this decade that Ethiopia's leaders of the future, that tiny fraction of one per cent of the population who reach secondary school, are coming to experience adolescence as a real normative crisis. At a time when, in the highly modernized society of the United States, observers like Friedenberg charge that the adolescent condition is becoming obsolete—that scope is no longer afforded the young person for exploration and discovery of an authentic self[28]—in the transitional state of Ethiopia this condition is being thrust on the youth. The decisions they make now, the identities they forge, will largely determine the extent to which reason and creativity will have a place in Ethiopia's future.

The effort of the Ethiopian government to provide a modern education for some of Ethiopia's adolescents illustrates a principle discussed in another context by Karl Mannheim, namely, the characterization of youth as a latent sociological resource which must be mobilized when any social system seeks to change itself. It is a resource analogous to the latent energy reserves which are available to biological organisms when they must make a fresh adjustment to their environment.[29] Thus far the effort to mobilize the resources of Ethiopia's youth in behalf of modernization has proceeded chiefly through a pattern of increased *differentiation:* establishing a structure of secondary socialization separate from that of the traditional structures and thereby transmitting new beliefs, skills, and values to the youth. As yet, relatively little has been done with respect to the problems of devising modes of *integration* commensurate with these new differentiated patterns. The analyses of this chapter suggest the presence of what might be called "integration gaps" on at least three levels. On the level of the individual personality, there is the problem of synthesizing the various aspects of traditional and modern culture which have been transmitted to Ethiopian adolescents through diverse sources. Inasmuch as the external supports which cushioned these conflicts in the fifties are no

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

701 more eager and impatient to modernize Ethiopia than do members of the
648 new nobility. This contrast was already apparent at the time of the Italian invasion, when Ethiopian officers were condemning the archaic practices of civilian officials who, they charged, were holding back the defense efforts. Yet the image of a progressive, solidary military elite in Ethiopia is justified no more than the image of a reactionary, solidary ministerial elite; nor should the military leaders be seen as standing in fundamental opposition to their civilian counterparts. There is much friendly intercourse between the two groups. Army officers are often related to civilian officials, by blood or by marriage. Military personnel have in a number of cases been assigned to civilian posts in the government. While the military carry on much of their social life among themselves, they also enjoy a good deal of interaction with civilians of high status at parties, dances, weddings, and funerals.

701 Like the new nobility, moreover, the military officers do not form a cohesive group with common interests and ambitions. The one group which did develop a high degree of solidarity, esprit, and common political goals—the Officers Corps of the Imperial Bodyguard—was dissolved in the wake of its defeat in the 1960 rebellion. The military men have been checked and balanced by much the same techniques as have the new nobility. As a whole, they are held together by little more than the institutionalized structure of the security forces. As such, they are in any event bound to play an important part in determining the character of the future government of Ethiopia as they are crucial now in upholding the present regime.

THE BIRTH OF AN INTELLIGENTSIA

571 The formation of a modern intellectual class in Ethiopia is still in its earliest
871 stages. Given the small number who have completed elementary school (a
162 number still under one per cent of the national population) all Ethiopians who have graduated from secondary school may for the time being be considered members of a secular educated elite, those with college and graduate degrees enjoying correspondingly higher status within this elite. The total number in this group reached an estimated six thousand in 1962, about one-fourth of whom held college degrees.

571 Equally indicative of the rudimentary condition of the Ethiopian intelli-
571 gentsia is the poverty of its institutional facilities and of its means of com-
873 munication, both internally and with the international intellectual commu-
874 nity. As of 1961, institutions with primarily intellectual purposes were limited to the small college of arts and sciences, four vocational colleges, two small research centers (the Pasteur Institute and the Section d'Archéologie, both financed by France and staffed mostly by non-Ethiopians), the Haile

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

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Name of School[a]	Enrolment[b]	Grades Surveyed	No.		
			Total	Male	Female
I. Tafari Makonnen School	320	11th and 12th	60	60	0
II. Haile Selassie I Secondary School	230	12th	47	47	0
III. Menelik II School	245	12th	15	15	0
IV. General Wingate Secondary School	325	12th	58	58	0
V. Madhane Alem School	160	12th	21	21	0
VI. Empress Mennen School	220	12th	19	0	19
VII. The English School[c]	.....	11th and 12th	9	7	2
VIII. Madhane Alem School (Harar)	450	12th	23	23	0
IX. Haile Selassie I School (Gondar)	135	11th	45	45	0
X. Theological Academy	100	12th	13	13	0
XI. Commercial School	335	12th	42	31	11
XII. Technical School	420	12th	57	57	0
XIII. Social Work Training Program[d]	12	12th	11	3	8
XIV. Teacher Training School (Harar)	278	12th	51	51	0
XV. Agriculture School (Ambo)	120	12th	29	29	0
Total secondary schools	3,350	.....	500	460	40
XVI. University College	420	3d and 4th	44	.....	.....
XVII. Engineering College	100	3d and 4th	31	.....	.....
XVIII. College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts (Alemaya)	172	3d and 4th	49	.....	.....
XIX. Haile Selassie I Military Academy (Harar)	138	3d[e]	38	.....	.....
XX. Public Health Officers Training Program (Gondar)	60	3d and 4th	38	.....	.....
Total colleges	890	.....	200	.....	.....

[a] These schools include all but five of the government postelementary schools which were offering full four-year programs in 1959. Schools I–IX are listed as "academic secondary schools"; X–XV as "special schools"; and XVI–XX as "institutions of higher learning." Unless otherwise indicated, they are located in Addis Ababa.

[b] The enrolment figures are for the academic year 1959–60, except for Tafari Makonnen School, where a preliminary version of the questionnaire was used during 1958–59. In schools which include elementary grades as well, the figures refer only to the secondary level enrolment. The total universe of the grades surveyed in these twenty schools was 1,150.

[c] A very small private school, attended by several Europeans as well as Ethiopians. The entire Ethiopian group of the two highest classes responded.

[d] A two-year program organized with the assistance of UNESCO. The students surveyed were the equivalent of secondary school seniors.

[e] The terminal year.

113 16. Mulugeta Wodajo, "Postwar Reform in Ethiopian Education," *Comparative Education Review*, II (February, 1959), 27.

17. Cf. William Shack, "Organization and Problems of Education in Ethiopia," *The Journal of Negro Education*, XXVIII (Fall, 1959), 405–20.

18. *Youth's Outlook on the Future: A Cross-national Study* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955), p. 9.

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[243] Preferred cereals cannot be grown here, instead sorghum, finger millet, and white tef (Eragrostis teff; an indigenous, [635] tiny-grained cereal) are produced. Moreover, the civil administration of the kola is less effective than in the highlands. Of the three zones, kola is the most sparse- [162] ly populated, and the only one to contain a substantial [563] indigenous non-Hamitic population. These are a Nilotic [567] people, horticulturalists living on the province's western periphery. Highlanders refer to them by a putative tribal nomer, "Shankella", and, until recent times, obtained their domestic slaves from this population. Even now, Nilotes living in the highlands are popularly known as bariya, "slave".

Weyna dega lands are located between 1800 and 3000 [136] meters. This is parkland beyond the range of the ano- [243] pheles mosquito, and ideal for growing preferred cereals, [231] wheat and red teff. Here, as in the other zones, agriculture is complemented by the raising of sheep, goats, and chickens for food; cattle for meat, milk, and plowing; donkeys to carry burdens across the broken plateau lands; and horses and mules as mounts.

Dega lands are the sections of the plateau which [243] extend beyond the 3000 meter mark. In their lower reaches, wheat and red teff are grown, but at higher altitudes [233] barley is the dominant cereal. The lands above 4000 meters cannot be cultivated, although some are used for grazing.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

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131 their combined ranks the political elite of Ethiopia has
779 been historically recruited. Third among the highland peoples are the Agaw. It appears likely that they are the descendants of the original Hamitic population of this region, and only during the last century have most Begemder Agaw been converted from their indigenous religious beliefs to membership in the Coptic Church. Within Begemder, they constitute a majority of the inhabitants of three non-contiguous areas. Fourth among highlanders are the rural Muslims, indigenous people who have been converted to Islam over the last five centuries.
[241] While the rural Amhara, Tigre, and Agaw are exclusively
[463] farmers, these Muslims divide their energies between farm-
[286] ing and working as artisans, mainly weavers of the toga
[443] cloth; Muslim women are prominant among the traders of
[562] the weekly markets held throughout the province. Least numerous of the highland people are the Falasha, Abyssin-
[423] ian Jews following a Mosaic creed. A despised and humil-
[326] iated people, the Falasha farm only rented fields
[286] (timene), and work as smiths as well as weavers; Falasha
[162] women are potters. Although the Falasha are localized in several regions, they nowhere constitute a majority
[361] of an area's residents. Like the Abyssinian Muslims, they reside either in hamlets of their own, apart from Amhara, or in peripheral homesteads of otherwise Christian hamlets. These distributions are summarized in Map2.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

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[796] motives of piety and supplication, to the saints' epony-
[346] mic churches. Within the environs of Gondar, for example, there are forty-two churches, and perhaps half are of sufficient antiquity and fame to mark them for special visits on the saints' days. Each of the market towns contains at least one famous church. The larger towns are, moreover, the seats of their sub-provinces, and are the objects of visits by peasants on "government" (mongist) business. Most frequently, this means
[691] [423] litigation involving the disposition of land rights.

361 Two Rural Hamlets. Tikurmidir and Lemmariet are neighboring hamlets, situated on fertile dega lands. Together they occupy the southwest quadrant of Kidus Yowhannis parish (hamlet and parish names are pseudonyms), a three hour walk from the awraja seat, Dabat town, in the Woggera region. Of the two, Tikurmidir is larger:

[161] [592]

	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Total population	151	95
Total households	36	24

In both hamlets, a majority of households are headed by
[613] [592] risteñas. These households are distributed among the hamlets' ambilineages as follows:
[162]

	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Ambilineage I	18	10
Ambilineage II	6	1

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[162]

	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Ambilineage III	4	
Ambilineage IV	3	
Ambilineage V		5
Ambilineage VI		3
Ambilineage VII		2
Total risteñas households	31	21

[423] In each of the hamlets, there are two households be-
*[192] longing to Amhara tenant farmers (timeneña), individuals unable to claim membership in any local ambilineage. These tenants, who provide their own seed and draught animals, return a quarter of their crops to the risteñas
[779] whose fields they use. There in Tikurmidir two addition-
[433] al timeneña households, whose members are Muslims. These
[286] households are headed by brothers who supplement their
*[192] agricultural activities by weaving the šama (toga) for local Christians.

*793 Primary rights to a third of a parish's fields are
361 believed to reside with the parish church. Ideally, the
423 use of such fields, known as yikeys mariet ("priest's
795 land"), is given to local priests in return for parti-
*[192]
[613] cipating in the Masses of the parish church. In practice, rist-holding ambilineages become associated with specific tracts of yikeys mariet by providing such priests over generations. Occasionally, ambilineage

*278
*759

759 (Kusil:Kabiy:k:I+) and (Yilfiyn Basiyta:Kabiy:k*:I)
(Wosfat:Ateci:k*:I) and (Kowsow:Ateci:k*:I)
(Yisaal Basiyta:Ateci:k*:II+) and (Kurtimat:Kabiy:k*:II)
In Lemmariet:
(Koruba:Seci:i:I+) and (Mic:Seci:i:I)
(Koruba:Seci:i:I) and (Mic:Seci:i:I)
(Aynitila:Ateci:k*:II) and (Yisaal Basiyta:Ateci:k*:II)
(Wosfat:Ateci:k*:III) and (Yisaal Basiyta:Ateci:k*:III)
The combination of therapies owned by any one herbalist is recognized by Amhara as being entirely adventitious, although no secular herbalist is considered likely to own multiple therapies for a single disease-name specialty.

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*759
[562]
[592]
Since three of Tikurmidir's herbalists are women, and two of them reside with herbalist spouses, the distribution of herbalists among households is as follows:

	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
[162] Household with one or more herbalists:	19	16
%of Amhara households with one or more herbalists:	56%	67%

The distribution of herbalist therapies in these hamlets is further characterized by a high degree of "redundancy", that is to say, the presence of two or more therapies directed against the same named ailment, but practiced by different herbalists:

the memeleša counters the effect of the poison, which stands in the place that the primary medicine would in any other internally administered herbalist therapy.

The remaining therapy attracting clients from beyond the hamlet is Nikersa:kitabiy:A:I, and is the hamlet's best example of a therapy of medhaniyt awakiy grade. As an "amulet therapy", it has no memeleša, nor does it allow for a diagnosis to the administration of the therapy. The grading of such therapies is dependent upon criteria of efficacity and professional reputation; this nikersa therapy is regarded as relatively effective and it attracts clients from all Woggera, in spite of the presence of redundant therapies within this area.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SECULAR HEALERS IN URBAN BEGEMDER

Less than 5% of the province's people are classified "urban" by Government census.[16] Half of these townfolk live in Gondar, the provincial capital. Although Gondar is the administrative, ecclesiastical, and commercial center of Begemder, its demographic and social character-

[16] 56,000 out of a total of 1.24 million (EAS1965: 23-24).

istics are, except for differences in scale, approximated by most of the other provincial towns situated in predominantly Amhara areas.[17]

The People of the Town. Approximately three-quarters of Gondar's residents are Amhara, born in either Begemder or adjacent Gojam province. Most Amhara townsmen are government employees (clerks, messengers, teachers, and judicial functionaries); a lesser number enjoy some ecclesiastical identity, and others are local rentiers, often supplementing their incomes with government or Church employment. A smaller number work in miscellaneous, unskilled occupations, notably as watchmen (zibaña) at the households of affluent co-religionists.

Three quarters of Gondar's adult Amhara are women. A minority of them are the spouses or dependents of local Amhara townsmen, and confine their daily activities to domestic duties. A still smaller number are rentiers, or the recipients of stipends from mature sons living elsewhere. The remaining Amhara townswomen, perhaps 40%

[17] Thus excluding Chilga (urban center for the Kemant Agaw region) and Metemma (a border town of the Sudanese lowlands).

162 632 433 463 of the town's total population, support themselves by working among the densely packed rows of beer houses and mead halls which are found along the approaches to, and in the vicinity of, the arada, the weekly market area. A portion of these women alternate periods of beer selling with work as servants in Amhara households.

632 779 563 [197] [167] [142] Gondar's Muslims include both Abyssinians (pejoratively, "Jabartiy", "half-caste") and Arabs. While the former are mono-lingual Amharic speakers and physically indistinguishable from Amhara, the latter are distinctively dressed, bilingual in Amharic and Arabic, often light-skinned, and either immigrants from South Arabia or the descendants of immigrants and their Abyssinian wives. [443] [442] Arab men are the town's most affluent merchants (who often make a weekly circuit of provincial markets with their goods), shop-keepers, and wholesalers. Arab women are secluded at home. In the main, Gondar's Muslims are residentially nucleated in Addis Allem, a settlement on the town's southern perimeter and contiguous to the arada.

632 563 463 [197] [562] A substantial number of Tigrinya-speaking people, predominantly Eritrean, live in Gondar. The men are employed mainly as artisans (carpenters, masons, sandal makers, tailors, tinkers), laborers, and ecclesiastics. Because of their relative sophistication, Eritrean women are popular servants for affluent townsmen, and as